REPORT RESUMES

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A PLAN FOR ACCELERATING QUALITY INTEGRATED EDUCATION IN THE BUFFALO PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM.

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NEW YORK STATE EDUCATION DEPT., ALBANY

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EDUCATIONAL INEQUALITY IN BUFFALO HAS LED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF A PLAN FOR PROGRESSIVE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL IMBALANCE AND PROVISION OF INCREASED EDUCATIONAL QUALITY AND OPPORTUNITIES. CITIZEN OPINIONS, OBTAINED THROUGH INTERVIEWS, RESULTED IN A MODIFICATION OF THE "4-4-4 PLAN" (DIVISION OF GRADES 1-12 INTO THREE SCHOOLS, EACH WITH FOUR GRADES) WITH EMPHASIS ON EQUALIZING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES IN GRADES K-4. BASIC GOALS OF THIS PLAN ARE EQUALIZING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY, GUIDING THE INDIVIDUAL AND HIS CAREER, AND PROMOTING DESEGREGATION AND SELF-ESTEEM. AS AN INITIAL PLANNING STEP, IT WAS RECOMMENDED THAT THE CAMPUS SCHOOL LOCATED AT THE STATE COLLEGE OF NEW YORK AT BUFFALO BE UTILIZED AS A SMALL EDUCATIONAL PARK TO PROMOTE RACIAL BALANCE. SPECIFIC STEPS ARE RECOMMENDED FOR TEACHER INTEGRATION AND FOR COMPLETE GRADE REORGANIZATION OF THE SYSTEM. UPON REORGANIZATION, EACH SCHOOL WILL HAVE BETWEEN 26 AND 42 PERCENT NONWHITES AND BETWEEN 74 AND 58 PERCENT WHITES. (HW)

ED012501

A PLAN FOR ACCELERATING
Quality Integrated Education
IN THE BUFFALO PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

A Report Prepared by
Center For Urban Education
New York City

The State Education Department
Albany, New York 12224
August 19, 1966

EA 000 571

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
THE STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY
AND COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION
ALBANY, NEW YORK 12224

August 23, 1966

Honorable Members of the Board of Education
and Superintendent of Schools of the
City School District of the City of Buffalo
Room 712
City Hall
Buffalo, New York

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am pleased to transmit herewith "A Plan for Accelerating Quality Integrated Education in the Buffalo Public School System," a report prepared pursuant to the Board's request in September 1965 asking that the assistance of the State Education Department be sought "in making a broad and deep study of our needs, leading to long-range planning and solution of our problems."

This report was forwarded to me under date of August 18, 1966, by Mr. Ira G. Ross, Chairman of the Advisory Committee for the Study of Buffalo Schools, a committee appointed by me in January to guide and assist in the study.

The report was prepared by the Center for Urban Education in New York City, a national Educational Laboratory, supported by Federal funds appropriated under the provisions of Title IV of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. The arrangements for the study were administered and supervised by Associate Commissioner Lorne H. Woollatt and Dr. William D. Firman of the Department. Financial support consisted of $30,000 supplied by the State, plus direct contributions made by the Center for Urban Education.

As indicated by the title, the report presents a plan for the progressive elimination of racial imbalance looking toward the provision of increased educational opportunities and the general improvement of the quality of education in the Buffalo School System.

I note with pleasure the statement by Mr. Ross that "We were most gratified to hear of the effectiveness of measures already instituted by our Board of Education and School Administration to raise the achievement levels of children from limiting backgrounds. It is heartening, too, to hear report of dedication throughout our school system in the face of its most difficult problems."

The study of the Buffalo schools is not complete with this report, but will continue throughout the school year 1966-67 with a city-wide evaluation of the educational program and a consideration of ways of strengthening the management and the financial support of the school system. Members of the staff of the Education Department, under the direction of Associate Commissioners Walter Crewson and Herbert Johnson, will work with Superintendent Manch and his staff in carrying out these parts of the study.

In transmitting this report to the Board, I take the opportunity to thank the distinguished members of the Advisory Committee for the effective way they have carried out their assignment. Their advice and deliberation have been of inestimable value to me and to the staff. Giving generously of their time and talent, at considerable personal sacrifice, they have rendered a service which deserves the appreciation of all the people of Buffalo.

Finally, I commend the report and its recommendations to the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools and pledge to you the continuing readiness of the State Education Department to provide assistance in every way in which the Board and Superintendent feel we can be of help in your continuing search for those solutions to the complex problems of education that will best serve the interests of the young people of Buffalo. I shall welcome your views on the report, as well as those of other interested groups and individuals, and shall look forward to learning about your plans for further action.

Sincerely,

James E. Allen Jr.

James E. Allen, Jr.

Attachments

Advisory Committee
FOR THE STUDY OF BUFFALO SCHOOLS
1300 ELMWOOD AVENUE, BUFFALO, NEW YORK 14222 / AREA CODE 716 886-1976

ADDRESS YOUR RESPONSE TO THIS CORRESPONDENCE TO:
Cornell Aeronautical Laboratory, Inc.
4455 Genesee Street, Buffalo, New York
August 18, 1966

Dr. James E. Allen, Jr.
Commissioner
The University of the State of New York
The State Education Department
Albany, New York 12224

Dear Dr. Allen:

Your Advisory Committee for the Study of Buffalo Schools held its sixth meeting on August 2, 1966. The report entitled, "A Plan for Accelerating Quality Integration in the Buffalo Public School System" as developed for you by the Center for Urban Education, 33 W. 42nd St., New York City, and authored by Gladys Engel Lang and Arthur J. Brodbeck with the assistance of Robert Heifetz and Leroy Miller, was endorsed in principle and approved by unanimous action of the eight members of the Advisory Committee present. A copy of the minutes of this meeting is attached.

It should be emphasized that our committee's advisory role did not include editing of the Center's report. During the several months of its development, we received verbal and printed briefings of background material upon which the staff based their findings, made such comments as seemed helpful during their work, and reviewed the final report in some detail.

Although each of us differs in some detail, or has areas of qualified concurrence, no member of the residual committee of thirteen has registered exception to the broad principle of the plan. I believe that I may properly report as general reservations:

> We neither endorse nor reject Section VI, feeling that it is intended simply as clarifying illustration and that we are not qualified to explore details of execution properly within the province and competence of the local school administration.

Ira Ross, Chairman
Paul Bulger, Secretary

MEMBERS
Mrs. John Bozer
Jack E. Clark
Henry Coords
Charles Diebold

Robert S. Fish
John M. Galvin
Ambrose I. Lane
Richard E. Moot
Nelson H. Nichols, Jr.

Rev. Porter W. Phillips
Paul Schoellkopf
W. Merle Smith, Jr.
Mary E. Wood

> We have not yet been presented material pertinent to the Buffalo School System's financial problems nor of costs to implement the proposed plan. We cannot, therefore, endorse or reject Section VII. We make this statement without prejudice and in the conviction that a good plan can always be financed if it meets a common need and is supported by the citizens of the community.
>
> We concur in the broad principle that there can be very useful interplay between general city planning and projection of school improvements. We feel, however, that it is beyond the proper scope of this committee, or, indeed, of the study itself to suggest means of achieving such coordination of plans.
>
> We hope that reference to some misuse of the vocational schools may not be construed as critical of the overall effectiveness of our vocational and technical schools nor of their continuing utility in the proposed plan.

We were most gratified to hear of the effectiveness of measures already instituted by our Board of Education and School Administration to raise the achievement levels of children from limiting backgrounds. It is heartening, too, to hear report of dedication throughout our school system in the face of its most difficult problems.

On behalf of the committee, I wish to thank Associate Commissioner Lorne H. Woollatt and Director William D. Firman and all members of the staff of the Center for Urban Education for the excellent help and guidance that they have given our committee. Please know that your Advisory Committee is ready to serve you in any way you may wish.

Sincerely,

Ira G. Ross

Ira G. Ross
Chairman

ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR THE STUDY OF THE BUFFALO SCHOOLS

Name	Identification
1. Bozer, Mrs. John (Joan)	Chairman, Education Committee Junior League of Buffalo
2. Bulger, Paul G.	President, State University College at Buffalo
3. *Clark, Jack E.	President, Buffalo Area Chamber of Commerce and General Office Manager, New York Telephone Company
4. *Coords, Henry	Manager, Western Electric Company and Vice President, Buffalo Chamber of Commerce
5. Diebold, Charles	President, Western Savings Bank
6. Fisk, Robert S.	Dean, School of Education State University of New York at Buffalo
7. Galvin, John M.	Chairman, Executive Committee Marine Midland Trust Company
8. Lane, Ambrose I.	Executive Director Community Action Organization
9. Moot, Richard E.	Attorney Ohlin, Damon, Morey, Sawyer and Moot
10. Nichols, Nelson H., Jr.	Executive Director Buffalo Urban League
11. Phillips, Rev. Porter W.	Pastor, Humboldt Parkway Methodist Church
12. Ross, Ira G.	President, Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, and President, Cornell Aeronautical Laboratory Inc. of Cornell University
13. Schoellkopf, Paul	Chairman of the Board, Niagara Share Corporation
14. Smith, W. Merle, Jr.	President, Citizens for Better Education, and Assistant Manager, Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York
15. Wood, Mary E. (Miss)	Executive Director, Y.W.C.A.

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* Moved from Buffalo during period of study.

CENTER FOR URBAN EDUCATION
33 West 42 / New York City / 10036

A PLAN FOR ACCELERATING QUALITY INTEGRATED EDUCATION IN THE BUFFALO PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

by

Gladys Engel Lang and Arthur J. Brodbeck

with the assistance of
Robert Heifetz and Leroy Miller

August 2, 1966

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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I. INTRODUCTION: THE SEARCH FOR A PLAN

This report was prepared under a contract with the New York State Education Department. It is the second part of a larger study of quality desegregated education in the public schools of Buffalo, New York. The overall study was co-directed by Gladys Engel Lang, Senior Research Sociologist, and Arthur J. Brodbeck, Senior Research Psychologist, on the staff of the Center for Urban Education. Leroy Miller, Research Associate, was in charge of the field interviewing in a selected sample of Buffalo schools. A number of others, associated with the Center, have participated in the field work or analysis of the study: both Robert Heifetz, Planner, and Harvey Rosenthal, Research Sociologist, participated in the pilot field study and in the analysis.

An initial report, Public School Segregation and Related Population Characteristics of Buffalo, New York, based on their research, has been written and submitted by Mary Ellen Warshauer, Research Sociologist, and Robert A. Dentler, Director of the Center for Urban Education. The report submitted here was originally written largely by Drs. Lang and Brodbeck, and rewritten by Dr. Lang with editorial assistance from Harris Dienstfrey and substantive criticism from Mr. Miller. Mr. Heifetz, with the assistance of Margaret Latimer, Research Assistant, prepared the statistics and map on school plant reorganization in Section VI and VII.

Presented here is a strategy for accelerating quality integration in the Buffalo public school system, based on studies undertaken by the Center in the late Winter and Spring of 1966. These studies include separate reports, submitted to the Center under subcontract by: Warren Button and

Richard Salzer, School of Education, State University of New York at Buffalo, on school policy and organization, teacher recruitment and placement, and on the history of the Buffalo school system; Jesse Nash, Canisius College, and Elwin Powell, Department of Sociology, State University of New York at Buffalo, on urban renewal and school desegregation; and Seymour Sachs, Maxwell School of Administration, Syracuse University, on fiscal policy and problems of the Buffalo School system. Within the Center, Miss Warshauer and Dr. Dentler analyzed selected population characteristics of Buffalo relating to the current status of ethnic composition in the schools, the principal data being derived from United States Census reports from 1940 to 1960 and data on the ethnic composition of student bodies and staffs, for 1962 and 1966, provided by Buffalo Schools Superintendent Joseph Manch and his staff.

Field Research Methodology

The field study, on which the present authors relied heavily in deciding on a strategy for change, began in late Winter 1966 with the interviewing of Buffalo community leaders, known to be interested in and conversant with the school situation. The thirty-two persons formally interviewed, by Gladys Engel Lang, Arthur J. Brodbeck, Leroy Miller, Robert Heifetz, and Harvey Rosenthal, represented a range of perspectives on the problem of school desegregation. Contacted were persons known to be adamantly opposed to any plan specifically directed at improving racial balance in the schools and persons known to be ardent supporters of such attempts, as well as those both "for" and "against." Respondents included, among others: members of the business community, representatives of civil rights groups, religious leaders, members of the lay Board of Education, Catholic and private school administrators, members of the several University communities, and political leaders. These persons were asked for their opinions and advice on such matters as: the quality of the Buffalo schools, factors contributing to racial imbalance, possible community responses to desegregation proposals, and what could be done to further quality desegregation.

More informal interviews were held during the same period with a number of other persons in the community, including Mayor Sedita, Superintendent Manch, some of his immediate staff and various school personnel. Members of the Center team also attended meetings of the Board of Education, public hearings, and protest meetings involving racial integration in the schools. Visits -- including classroom observation -- were made to a number of Buffalo schools, both desegregated and segregated, at the elementary, junior high school and high school levels.

These interviews provided us with an outline of the information needed to arrive at a plan most likely to ensure a good educational experience in integrated schools for the maximum number of Buffalo's children. Among other things, we had, for instance, to find out what people expected of their schools, why they kept their children in public schools or moved to the suburbs or into private and parochial schools. We had to know who in the community was most likely to be mobilized in behalf of or against what kinds of proposals. We had to learn what in the home and school situation made for "success" or "failure" among children -- Negro and white. We had to know what made a school "superior" or "inferior" in fact and/or in reputation.

Interviews were then held with students, their parents, teachers, and principals in each of six elementary public schools, one elementary Catholic school, two junior high schools and two high schools. The idea was to draw into the sample roughly equal numbers of "successful" and "unsuccessful" children (Negro and white) from a variety of backgrounds and in a variety of school situations -- schools with superior and inferior reputations, in segregated and integrated settings -- and then to search in our data for explanations of the different outcomes. This is tantamount, in the language of business, to starting with the "output" and seeking an explanation in the "input." Since the interviewing took members of the survey team both into the schools and into the neighborhoods from which each school population was drawn, they learned a good deal about the rules -- formal and informal -- under which each school operated and about the general milieu of the school. Impressions thus gained made the interview material more meaningful for planning a strategy.

The Search for a Plan

The distinctive feature of the research used to develop the plan presented in this paper was to treat persons interviewed -- students, parents, school faculty, members of the lay and professional Boards of Education as well as community leaders -- as consultants. For instance, we asked each of them, "If you could do anything you could to make sure that all children in Buffalo have the best possible education, what would you do?" We believe that people who have lived with a situation have within their own experience the seeds of a solution to problems within it. A single individual, however, has only part of the picture.

By pooling the knowledge of persons with a wide range of perspectives, we hoped to come up with a comprehensive solution.

In conducting the research and in writing this report, we have kept the existing array of plans for school integration in mind, and have found something useful in each. The strategy proposed is a modification of the 4-4-4 plan (that is, the division of grade 1 through 12 into three schools, each with 4 grades), with heavy stress on equalizing educational opportunities in the K-4 years so as to promote equality of outcome (school "success") for children from low-income areas and to improve the likelihood that desegregation steps at the middle school level (5-8) will lead to enduring integration. Aware of the need to promote early and happy contacts between children of all races and creeds, we have suggested realistic and ready means of fostering sustained and rewarding contacts between Negro and white children from the earliest grades on. An Exploration Center suggested at the middle school level is broadly analogous to the desegregation proposal that has come to be known as the Mount Vernon plan. Also proposed are two college-related schools that will serve as experimental educational parks.

These, and the more specific recommendations, set forth in Sections IV and V, represent changes that can be brought about in the relatively near future. We try to show in Section VI what the conversion to a 4-4-4 system might look like in a transitional phase (when mainly buildings now existent would have to be used) and what it would mean for the improvement of racial balance. But, beyond this, we have looked ahead to see the dénouement of that conversion. In a consolidation phase, with building plans geared to the 4-4-4 system, the city would be divided into five consolidated districts, each with its own educational park.

We think the strategy advanced in this report is most sensitive to the needs of Buffalo and least likely to be self-defeating for the following reasons:

> It looks at the education system in relation to the entire community.
>
> It furthers integration by making the best possible conditions for desegregation.
>
> It concentrates on improving the quality of education as well as improving racial balance.
>
> It takes steps to involve educational institutions and the business community in the success of the plan.

Particularly, it is not "piecemeal." One of the conclusions we came to early in our investigation was that previous sttempts at racial integration in the Buffalo schools were much too "piecemeal."*

The sense of a complete community enterprise behind these efforts was decidedly lacking. These comments are not made to censure, since we are well aware of factors that have operated to lead key school figures to resort to such a fragmented strategy. Yet since many of these "episodic" attempts at integration, however well-meaning, often created incidents that served to thwart further integration, a piecemeal strategy seemed to us inherently dangerous, and still does. From the outset, then, we have looked toward a comprehensive community-wide plan which, while it might go awry here and there, or need change in this and that detail, would have a chance of success as a whole.

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*A short history of prior attempts can be found in The Progressive Elimination of Racial Imbalance in the Buffalo Public Schools, a report submitted to Commissioner Allen by the Board of Education, May 1, 1965. Among measures taken in the past have been: the closing of academic high schools; district changes; voluntary transfer plans; and reassignment of elementary school pupils.

The report that follows takes up, in Section II, the general findings relevant to a strategy for a change and goes on, in Section III, to discuss some of the general goals to be taken into account in deciding on a strategy. Section IV outlines the general strategy of the plan and is followed by a Section V on specific strategies. Section VI and VII give an idea of how the plan might become operative, what it might cost, and what impact it might have on racial balance in the schools. Finally, Section VIII suggests how school reorganization could be linked to a community building program.

II. GENERAL FINDINGS RELEVANT TO A STRATEGY FOR CHANGE

From the data so far examined there has emerged a general picture of the progress of desegregation and integration in the Buffalo schools and of the obstacles to further progress. The following generalizations attempt to summarize those aspects of those situations most relevant in the choice of a strategy for change.

1. Very few of the 74 elementary schools (13.5%) are desegregated in the sense that the proportion of Negro pupils in a given school is an accurate reflection of the proportion of Negroes in the general population of Buffalo or of Negro children in the school population of Buffalo. ** Over half (54%) were segregated white. Where a school is "segregated" it tends to be very segregated; 15 schools had populations that were over 90% Negro. To be "segregated white" means to have virtually no Negroes: eighteen schools were less than one percent Negro, half of these being totally white.

2. There is also segregation in large measure at the junior high and high school level. Most seventh and eighth graders go to either segregated elementary schools or segregated junior high schools. Of the city's four public junior high schools, three were segregated Negro

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** Defined as "segregated Negro" is any school with a student population that contains more than two times the local proportion of Negroes in the total community population, i.e., over 32%. A school with less than half the proportion is defined as "segregated white," i.e., with less than eight percent Negroes.

in 1966 while the one desegregated junior high school (which we surveyed in depth) seems in imminent danger of "tipping" (and may safely at this writing be considered "segregated Negro"). At the high school level, about 60 percent of all Negro students are in a single academic high school. In fact only two of the eight academic high schools can be said to be desegregated. Moreover, disproportionate numbers of the Negroes in academic high schools are in what is generally considered the most inferior track.* Some of these students are vocational school rejectees.

3. Further, as of February 1966, while only 26 percent of the students in the seven vocational high schools were nonwhite, 46 percent of their Negro student population in vocational schools consisted of girls concentrated within a single school, and the one vocational school commonly thought of as a "dumping ground" was also the one with the highest proportion of Negro boys.

4. As in many Northern cities, the pattern of segregation in the Buffalo public schools reflects in large measure the pattern of residential segregation (aggravated by the flow of couples with young children to the suburbs). But segregation in the public schools is reinforced by the large white enrollment in parochial schools. (There were in 1965, 31,900 children in the parochial school system compared to 50,165 in the public schools.) Schools with scarcely a white student can be found within almost completely white neighborhoods.

5. Judged by achievement levels, most segregated elementary Negro schools fall below the national norm and the Buffalo average, as do most segregated junior high schools and high schools. For instance, in grade 8, the national median (and the Buffalo school system median) on the SAT reading comprehension (paragraph meaning) was 8.1. The median in a segregated (99%) Negro school with a poor reputation, which we studied, was 6.2 in 1963-64, the lowest in the city, while scores ranged up to 9.1 in one virtually all white school studied. In the segregated Negro school at grade 4 the score was 3.7; in the all white school it was 6.0.

6. In explanation of this "inferiority," teachers, principals, and parents alike allude to the poor preparation for school of many children from low income areas -- white and Negro alike. Our statistics also point to an association, at least at the elementary school level, between "lack of success" in school and the disruption of family life. Among a sample of fifth and sixth grade Negro pupils in the Buffalo schools studied -- half of whom were considered "successful" students, half "unsuccessful" -- almost 40% came from broken homes (where either one or both parents were not present). Among those from broken homes, almost 2/3 were "unsuccessful." In a comparable group of white students, only 10% came from broken homes. Here also the proportion of "successful" children was somewhat smaller than that in the total sample, but the number of cases is too small to allow us to have confidence in the difference. Observations of this

sort have led to the current emphasis in educational planning on pre-kindergarten training, year-round schooling for children from disadvantaged homes, and a variety of school-community programs.

7. Aside from the low achievement levels that appear to be related to a "poor head start," certain school practices that contribute to higher faculty and pupil instability in schools within low income areas appear to reinforce the effects of this initial inadequacy. For example, most segregated Negro schools have fewer than their requisite number of tenured teachers, and teacher turnover in these schools is greater. Thus, 1965 statistics show that in the segregated Negro elementary schools, the average teacher had 10.2 years of teaching experience and there was an annual turnover of 16.3 percent of all teachers who left the school; in the segregated white schools the mean length of service was 16.8 years while turnover was 12.9 percent. Educators disagree on what makes a "good" teacher for disadvantaged children, yet they do agree that experience helps; principals interviewed universally agreed that a stable faculty was essential to make a "good" school. Since the children in the economically disadvantaged areas move frequently, these schools also have a high rate of pupil mobility. A move may involve only a few short blocks, as the family changes apartments or the child is shifted from one family member to another (or to a foster home). But for the child, it may nevertheless be a major change, since a move outside the school district, even if only a few short blocks, can often mean a change of school as well as home. School records

indicate that some Buffalo children have been in six or seven schools within the low-income Negro area by the time they reach the age of ten. Data gathered through interviews reiterate findings from other studies: keeping children in the same school does not necessarily create success; it nevertheless diminishes the likelihood of failure.

As one principal put it, "The high degree of mobility of any school population may be one of the dominant factors in this entire retardation problem."

8. From interviews conducted by the survey team, it is clear that many parents, teachers, and community leaders believe that the lower achievement levels typical of schools in low income and segregated areas are inherent in the low level of individual family integration in the communities so that nothing can really change until the problem of family stability is resolved. Our research included a natural experiment providing a conclusive refutation of this argument. We studied two segregated elementary schools in the Negro core area. One of these was reputed to be one of the best schools in Buffalo; the other, deservedly or not, was reputed to be one of the worst. Our survey team generally agreed that the one school was the "best" studied and the other school the "worst."

The reading achievement level of one sixth grade class in the superior school (in June 1965) was 7.6 (compared to a national median of 6.9); at the close of the school year, only four pupils in the class were reading below grade level. Unfortunately, we have no comparable statistics for achievement tests given in the schools in June. Comparison of October tests indicate that, on the average, children in the "best" school both at the 4th and 6th grade level scored higher both in I. Q. and achievement tests. It should be noted that the large number of new pupils means testing done in September or October does not represent a true picture of the work done in the school.

Even more impressive is the enthusiasm expressed by students, parents, and teachers alike in the superior school. Teachers interviewed referred to it as "ideal," "a beautifully run school," "as close to the best as can be." Children in both schools came from similar so-called disadvantaged homes; there was no difference in the income levels or educational backgrounds of the families in the two school areas sufficient to account for the different attitudes and achievement levels in the two schools, and many children actually have at various times attended both schools. What accounts for the superiority of the one segregated school is that it was the setting for a remedial reading experiment and is now used as a demonstration school for training teachers. It has (a) small classes and (b) an able and dedicated principal attuned to the needs of the school's youngsters for a place of refuge and nurture, (c) a stable teaching staff (the turnover rate was 0. 0 last year), (d) teachers who are experienced in the special needs of their pupils, (e) a community with pride in the school because it is "special," and (f) a community that has been involved in the school through the employment of community aides and other devices. The "inferior" school is a typical slum school: too large, too overcrowded, with a high teacher turnover. Dedicated as the teachers (Negro and white) are, they express the opinion that their students "are not anxious to learn." Children, who have no place to go after school, return to school sometimes, as one teacher pointed out, only to find nobody there. What is still lacking that could make the "good" school even better is a stable pupil population. The "mobility rate in September" usually exceeds twenty-five percent of the school population.

9. Desegregation measures worked most effectively in those schools and situations where Negro and white students were able to meet each other on the basis of common interests as well as reasonably similar attainments and behavioral standards. Children favorably judged by other children were usually well-received irrespective of their race or background. The interviewing staff was struck by the spontaneous and enthusiastic friendships existing in the "good" desegregated school studied. Children interviewed were not asked specifically about attitudes towards children of other color but any prejudice or antipathy should surely have been unearthed by questions asked. Not one child in any way alluded to color in talking about persons liked or disliked, what made a good friend, etc.

10. Desegregation measures poorly planned or executed, may impede progress toward integration. Integration, which implies pervasive interaction and mutual acceptance, is a rare phenomenon. Two examples are offered illustrating how makeshift redistribution measures,

though well-intentioned and meant to alleviate intolerable situations in core area schools, had deleterious side effects: (a) One school studied was technically desegregated but hardly integrated. Children bussed in from an all-Negro school had been chosen with no regard to their compatibility to children in the receiving school in terms of ability and self-control. Negro children with low achievement thus tended to have their previous feelings of inadequacy reinforced, whereas the stereotypes of white parents and children about Negro children -- as inferior students and troublemakers -- were probably solidified. It may be noted that the capable principal of this school had been busy preparing to give the children being bussed the best possible reception on arrival; though it was known for some time that the children would be transferred, (the transfer was made only after the Fall semester was well under way), the principal first read in the newspaper on a Thursday that the pupils would be arriving on Monday! (b) In the "integrated" school discussed above (point 9), the temporary bussing of additional Negro children from a school damaged by fire threatened to "tip" the school's racial balance, thereby stirring up great fears and resentment on the part of white parents. Since the bussed children were separately "housed" within the school (with separate teachers, principal, etc.) and their behavior (defined as inferior) was used by teachers and principals in this otherwise integrated school as an example of "how not to act," the bussing served no apparent integration function.

11. Finally it must be noted that Buffalo is a community where few whites come into any but the most superficial contact with Negroes and where the idea of a professionally-qualified or college-educated Negro is foreign to many whites. Most Negro teachers teach in segregated Negro schools -- of 206 Negro elementary school teachers,85 percent worked in segregated Negro schools in 1966. In regard to the few Negro teachers who do teach in mainly white schools, on occasion (according to some school principals), white parents have tried to transfer children out of their classrooms. Such archaic attitudes are perpetuated in Northern cities by the lack of favorable and sustained contact between students, which begins at the youngest ages and carries over into the pre-adolescent and adolescent years when youngsters are in a position to get around the world and enlarge their experiences. Isolation thus reinforces the situation now existing in Buffalo.

III. THE GENERAL GOALS OF THE PLAN

Based on these findings, the following appear to be basic goals to be considered in planning:

1. The need to equalize educational opportunity;
2. The need to raise and give closer guidance to the individual aspirations of low-income and minority children;
3. The need to maximize the successful desegregation situations that will further progress toward integration in the most basic sense.

Equalizing Educational Opportunity

Every school system has a certain amount of actual or potential resources that it can distribute among the population it serves. It can distribute these resources more or less equally among the total population. What is often called "equal educational opportunity" is implicitly conceived with such a random pattern in mind. A good deal of the public concern with "racial balance" in the schools arose from a feeling that the school units were unequal in quality, such that the white school automatically received better and more than the Negro school. No matter how these differences may be exaggerated, such reasoning fitted and still fits many cities, including Buffalo. Not only do the Negro schools have fewer experienced teachers and higher teacher turnover, but the elementary school buildings in the low income areas are, on the average, older, in poorer condition, and larger. (28% of the segregated Negro schools were in buildings 50 or more years old compared to 9% of the segregated white schools.)

But the lack of "equal educational opportunity" goes beyond this. What often makes a school in a "good" neighborhood "good" is not so much the school but a home and neighborhood background that is rich in educational resources, so that the children from this background can make a good deal more of less than optimal educational riches. Some presumably good all-white elementary schools in Buffalo, often situated at extreme distances from the city's Negro area, do not appear to be of such top quality that a Negro child -- or the white child from a comparable low-income area -- would gain a great deal educationally by being placed there. The point is that such a child -- Negro or white -- requires an even richer school environment, especially during the early formative years of schooling, designed to compensate for the poverty of educational resources in his own home and neighborhood environment. School resources have to be deployed and mobilized in such a way as to provide for "equality of outcome" and this means that schools in areas of poverty need a richer share -- a differential distribution -- of school resources.

Furthermore, the earlier the school provides a compensatory educational program, the more quickly the total school population can become "equal," so that resources in later phases of public school education can be more randomly deployed.

The plan presented begins by differentially weighting education in the earliest years in favor of the young child in the low-income areas but begins in the middle years and ends in the high school years with a more randomized distribution of resources throughout the school system, after ability and talent have had a reasonable chance to emerge.

It should be noted that the problem of achieving "equal educational opportunity," which often includes specific recognition of the Negro's educational plight, is by no means confined to just Negroes. Educational deficiencies extend throughout the low income population as a whole. Nothing significant will be gained if educational opportunities are "equalized" for one group of the poor and left unequal for the rest. At present, indeed, the low income members of various ethnic groups feel the Negro is receiving too exclusively the kind of attention which they themselves also require. Right or wrong, these feelings of injustice -- as Robert Coles points out in a recent Altantic article -- must be recognized and dealt with.

Guiding the Individual and His Career

One of the primary characteristics of the modern world, and especially of cities, is to allow for much career specialization and for a rich array of roles, all considered important to the whole community, each in its particular way. In our time, specialization is still going forward at a rapid rate. There is less and less reason for any youngster to consider only a limited range of careers within which his or her talents must be submerged or to which his interests must be "fitted."

Thus, a school would be encouraging integration in the most basic sense to the extent that it: (a) brings to the attention of all its youngsters from whatever economic, ethnic, or racial grouping all the conventional and newly appearing career specializations, (b) provides opportunities for the individual to discover the career that best fits his interests and personality and (c) enables the student to develop the requisite skill for expressing that interest. Many school practices have not been modified to take into account the major modern form of developing individuality through occupational and career choices. Not only would a school system specifically benefit the Negro and other low-income populations by such corrections in its own organization, but it would benefit all, for the search for productive individuality is not simply a Negro problem.

There is some indication from our survey that a sizeable proportion of children become pessimistic about their future,as early as the 5th and 6th grades, during the middle years of schooling. The more the child comes from some "walled-off" group, the more this pattern appears. Asked, "Do you think you'll be happier in the years to come?" some 13% of all the fifth and sixth grades interviewed gave a definite "no." Of Negroes interviewed, 21 percent answered negatively compared to only four percent of the whites. A school with a population of youngsters such as these can be infused with an atmosphere of failure, making all enterprises -- including school, the acquiring of skills, etc. -- appear hopeless.

At the same time, let us note, the survey team in Buffalo met a number of persons conversant with the schools who had the general impression that some Negro youngsters were being discouraged from following high career aspirations in the light of past poor performance and, in the name of "realism," were being pressured into adjusting themselves toward lower level interests.

This leveling of aspirations is reflected at the upper school grades. The organization of the school system, (especially at the high school level) tends to give a totally different type of education to those following blue-collar and white-collar career lines. It is a most unusual pattern, for instance, to have almost half the high schools in a city devoted to narrow technical and sometimes low-level vocational skill interests. Furthermore, a good many vocational skill units -- in high schools, as well as in segregated vocational schools -- appear to many persons to be "dumping grounds" for the Negro youth population, however unwittingly that impression has arisen. Such schools, therefore, deliberately or not, serve not only to enforce associations between occupations and skin color but, in addition, deprive a proportion of Negro youth of an education permitting them to share a common map of knowledge with all other young people. Whatever the achievement levels of individual youngsters in general subjects, common exposure to a common map of knowledge provides some realistic basis for communication across specializations and a sense of a common identity of a world they share together.

Such a common curriculum can best be conceived as containing the few basic ideas from each of the specializations. After all, what we call "general" education, when reanalyzed, is often only some "specialist's" version of what, from his perspective, is worth teaching at all. Furthermore, some people believe general education at present is too overdetailed and needs to be shaken down to the basic ideas in each specialty.

While students are to be encouraged to pursue their "specialties" at the high school level, it is particularly after specialized choices have been made that a common curriculum is needed to curtail any movement towards creating "small clusters of interest and skill groups" with the high school as their homes. Moreover, no choice of a career should be so final that its choice constitutes a "point of no return" -- an additional argument for the "common curriculum."

Desegregation and Self-Esteem

Any strategy to attain racial integration through the schools must be evaluated in terms of the costs it incurs compared to costs incurred by alternative strategies. Costs must be calculated in terms of all gains and losses, not economic expenditures alone. An index of such total costs may be gauged in terms of rises and falls in self-esteem. The worth of one's self to an individual is conditioned by the deprivations and indulgences that the environment provides and administers. When the environment is mobilized to move people toward racial integration, both Negro and white participants in the schools are likely to suffer some deprivations and enjoy some indulgences. The net balance makes for rises and falls of self-esteem, both in individuals as well as within the total population.

Looking at self-esteem factors among children in Buffalo schools, some evidence can be adduced from our study that integration can carry costs, some of which are avoidable with proper planning. A number of persons told the survey team about a special class made up of delinquent adolescent Negro girls being "housed" in a school in a largely Polish neighborhood. Whatever the merits of the move, a public protest followed until the class was removed. It is hard to believe that this "mix" helped the self-images of either the Negro children or the children whose parents so protested.

If declines in self-esteem are accompanied by some benefit to the Negro child, the costs are worth bearing. However, when the Negro child is thrown into association with white children whose level of abilities and social manners he cannot match, he is often made to feel "stupid" or "bad." Given such circumstances, considerable guidance is needed to correct such a diminished sense of self-esteem. Moreover, consequences in the first integration interactions of youngsters may affect all those future ones that follow.

One hastens to add that costs just as severe or even more so are incurred when little or nothing is done to remedy de facto states of segregation. The ghetto sub-community is redolent with constant deprivations to the self-esteem of the maturing child. In sum, educators must realize they are dealing with costs to the self-esteem of children that can have permanent and sweeping long-term consequences, since they are padd at formative stages of early character development that shape later development. Some such costs -- though they can be minimized -- are endemic in promoting integration.

The remedy clearly emerges in terms of policies that involve neither piecemeal ill-conceived integration nor "token" ("protracted") integration. The movement must be as fast as possible but exercised in a way to promote so far as possible the self-esteem of all the youngsters involved. We refer to integration measures that take into account the community context as "contextual integration": the focus is on how the rate and nature of each step taken toward integration actually works with specific groups and individuals. Above all, all early integration attempts must maximize the probability of congenial interactions. Each further measure built upon it should consolidate past gains and promote still new ones.

A policy of "contextual integration" keeps in mind the costs to self-esteem of populations in general as well as to specific sub-groupings within aggregates. It makes such matters empirical, to be settled by a continuing auditing of the effects produced by each population interaction adopted and actualized. And it does not forget to audit the effects of moving too slowly.

IV. THE PLAN: GENERAL STRATEGY

Based on the general goals elucidated in Section III and the relevant study findings described in Section II, we have broadly outlined in this section--and detailed in the rest of the report--an operational procedure for changes in the Buffalo school system that should work toward the realization of quality integration.

The Triple A Plan: Ability, Aspiration, Achievement

The strategy of the plan is revealed by three key words: ability, aspiration and achievement. Together, they sum up three continuing but separate phases of education.

Ability (Learning How to Learn) --

During the early school years, it is the acquisition of fundamental skills such as reading that is essential. If the Negro child at this phase becomes systematically blocked from bringing his abilities in line with those of his white compeers, all further phases of education are progressively blocked for him. Since the white population is favored at these early stages by a non-school environment relatively rich in educational resources, any school that services the Negro child or any child living in relatively disadvantaged (low income) areas, must make up for these differences in opportunity. Priority thus must be given to the upgrading of all schools for the very young in such areas, that is, to the equalization of educational opportunity. The major feature is to introduce pre K-4 schools--which we call Early Childhood Centers--small in both total and classroom size which will make possible concentrated guidance and attention for a relatively stable student body. It is our recommendation that all K-6 and K-8 schools in such disadvantaged areas should be discontinued within the shortest time possible in favor of pre K-4 schools, and that all schools in buildings too large are not to be used for these Early Childhood Centers.

This recommendation is in no way to be considered a move in support of the "neighborhood school" as a value *sui generis.* What has been brought home to the survey team through interviews and observations is the need to (a) destroy the myth that impoverished, sometimes brutal backgrounds, doom a child to fall behind in school, and (b) hasten integration by ensuring that the average Negro child moving on to a desegregated situation at the middle school (5-8) level is as well prepared (has as much ability) as the average white child. Then, surely at the middle school level desegregation will have a better chance of promoting integration.

Nevertheless, we are also aware of the need to promote early and happy contacts between children of all races and creeds. Most optimistically, one hopes that upgraded schools in the low-income areas might become "magnet" schools, attracting some white children back into the public schools. Failing this, however, specific provisions must be made for fostering sustained and rewarding contacts between elementary childhood centers that yet remain segregated white and segregated Negro. Cooperation in this regard between parochial and public elementary schools seems particularly propitious since many segregated Negro schools and parochial schools in Buffalo are within walking distance of each other.

Aspiration (Learning How to Yearn) --

The second phase of education, once basic skills have been upgraded for the young disadvantaged population, must be devoted to the stimulation of talent and interest patterns and to careful guidance toward their fullest expression and recognition. As part of the stimulus here, the array of occupational and professional careers open to the child will be suitably and systematically presented to children in their "middle" years of growth and schooling, i. e. in 5-8 (middle schools). The aim here is to encourage individualized aspirations, to find the "right" career line, or lines, that appears to any student, hovering as he is between childhood and adolescence, to best fit his own personality and interest pattern. These exposures should be made between the 5th and 8th grades before the child chooses (or has chosen for him) a path in high school that determines in large part the path he will take in adult life. A primary purpose here is to ensure that poor guidance and resultant lack of knowledge of what is possible do not continue to send disproportionate numbers of Negro children into the least prestigeful tracks of the high schools or into vocational "dumping grounds."

Hopefully, at least one special school or more -- which we call Exploration Centers -- would be set aside for such conjoint exposures and congenial interactions. Within these Centers a body of materials relative to career lines would be permanently and suitably stored so as to be readily accessible to youngsters of these ages. Within the "middle" schools in disadvantaged areas, the stimulation provided by these special centers would be followed up in such ways as to allow practice of the various available adult roles and acquisition of "feel" for one's talent and interest in the role. The establishment of such a center or centers has the additional advantage of serving as an agency through which children from different schools and different parts of the city could come together.

It is at the middle school level that, given proper building and site selection, most progress can be made toward the improvement of racial balance. In Section VI a detailed city-wide reorganization plan, following the K-4, 5-8, 9-12 grade system, involving a transition phase and a consolidation phase, is presented. While not meant to be definitive (for the logistics of change are complicated), it indicates the impact of the proposed reorganization at the middle school (5-8) level.

Achievement (Learning How to Earn) --

The last phase of education is concerned with making good on one's aspirations. The recommendations here become city-wide in nature. The general recommendation is for the conversion of all high schools to comprehensive-specialized high schools that extend the range of the student's opportunity and choice rather than locking him into some career choice too early. By comprehensive high school we mean one that prepares students for college as well as for vocational and technical occupations by having a common core of studies and differentiated special programs. Given a range of occupational-professional roles, it should be possible then for each of the high schools to be specialized to any one set of them (for instance Medical Services, Computer Sciences, Social Services, etc.) The career lines divided among the available number of high schools is important only insofar as: any one speciality should attract students seeking professional careers (e.g., doctors, nurses) as well as students seeking semi-professional and skilled jobs within that general area (e.g., technicians, nurses' aides, etc.) In this way each high school would contain vocational and academic courses while the student population of each school would draw from various income, interest and ability levels.

It is important that no career choice be so final as to lead the student to a completely specialized education, shutting him off from other knowledge. Rather, all the high schools would share a fundamental common curriculum, even though any subject may be taught somewhat differently in each school (for instance, music might be taught with a somewhat different slant at M.I.T. than at a small Southern college, even by the same instructors).

These special-common interest high schools should give priority to Negro and white enrollment from the disadvantaged areas, since they are being used to randomize the entry of the underprivileged to the whole range of professions and occupations. Since pre-adults are capable of traveling long distances by bus, adolescents from all parts of the city could come to each high school from all parts of the city rather than being recruited just from the immediate school environs.

Finally, at all phases of the educational process, visits of "teams" of youngsters from one school to another would be promoted and return visits encouraged. The suburban schools would be encouraged to join in such interchanges. At the high school level, the same sort of interchange can be utilized to promote communication across specialization.

A need exists to keep constantly before the community as a whole what is happening in the school. The hope is that skill specialists (executives, businessmen, professionals, computer experts, skilled craftsmen, etc.) in the community would also participate as guides during the middle period of the school years when children are being exposed to career lines. At the high school years, such participation by career specialists in the community becomes even more essential, so that the school is in meaningful touch with what is happening in the fields it is preparing youngsters to enter.

All these suggestions center on the provision of "natural" opportunities to move the school system more fully into relationship with the adult world and vice versa and to move children from different circumstances more fully into relationship with each other. This reorganization aims to improve the quality of education at all levels throughout the system. It will make possible the giving of priority aid to the youngest age group (pre K-4) in the most impoverished areas. It will also promote integration by raising Negro achievement levels and assuring the basic prerequisite for congenial interaction both at the middle school and at the high school level, where children of more diverse backgrounds (class, ethnicity, race) will interact on the basis of common interests.

Experimental Parks as Models of Integration

It is our distinct impression that there are numerous Negro and white families in the Buffalo area who are prepared to go out of their way and make special efforts to give their children an integrated education. Among such populations, the plan for "contextual integration" sketched here might be considerably accelerated. It is suggested that the campus school now located at the State College of New York at Buffalo, whose new building (meant to house some 1200 students from pre-K-12) is now under construction, be utilized as a small educational park where children can be started from pre-kindergarten on in integrated patterns of racial balance. In this way a model of even more advanced educational avenues for integration would be made available to the community. At present, students are chosen by lot from those applying. It is suggested that some plan be worked out to make the school population draw more widely than it now does from the Negro and white low income areas of the city. It also seems possible that the city could build on the grounds slated to be vacated in 1970 by the State University of New York in the North of Buffalo an educational park, one that might be considerably larger in size and scope.

Integrated education under these most favorable conditions could, furthermore, provide support for residual problems that emerge under less favorable conditions in the community at large. Thus, School 12 has served as a model in considering the plans outlined here. An experimental educational park might do much the same for the community at large. Educators have very meager experience with such innovations as educational parks. We now need "prototypes" of this sort in order to work out details that would ultimately be embodied on a large scale. Such prototypes would furnish a sounder picture of how (and how not) to set up such institutions. We conceive of any experimental educational park as being jointly conducted by the College institution and the Public School Administration. Hence, it would provide more interaction between the school system's thinking about the future and the new ideas emerging in frontiers of educational science.

It should be pointed out that we are dealing here with "relatively" short-range plans meant to move toward quality integration in schools of Buffalo. The detailed reorganization plan included in Section VI looks toward a long-range solution which divides the city into five consolidated districts, each of which will be served by educational parks, combining the facilities of the middle school with that of the high school.

School Staff Integration

It is imperative for every young person to see an integrated adult society in his own school. At present, in Buffalo, there is an undue massing of Negro teachers in Negro ghetto schools. Less than one percent of the Negro teaching faculty is in the segregated white schools. Children thus fail to get a realistic picture of the adult world into which they are moving, a picture that public school education is, after all supposed to provide. A goal might be to have no less than two Negro teachers, both entering more or less together, in any school in Buffalo.

The specific context must be kept in mind to make "integration" at the faculty level effective. Schools populated by disadvantaged white children exposed to prejudice need Negro teachers to give the growing child a picture of the Negro as occupying a position and having the characteristics to which the youngster himself or herself aspires.

Special programs must be initiated toward recruitment of both Negro and white teachers living outside and/or educated outside Buffalo. The quality of a public school system rises when the recruitment base for teachers extends beyond the immediate vicinity. There is, apparently, some kind of "critical frequency" in the proportion of local to outside talent which allows "fresh air" and "new ways of seeing things" to emerge and blend with the more habitual perspectives characteristic of the locality itself. Recruitment of teaching staff from outside the city should also help to modify staff relations sufficiently to make for more than token integration among the public school staff. Providing a general freshness of vision will support the modified Negro-white teacher balance that is needed. Needless to say, the new recruits should be selected not only on the basis of competence and excellence but of their experience in working in integrated schools.

In those areas in Buffalo where the sub-community or neighborhood seems particularly receptive to integration, we strongly suggest that Negro principals be introduced, thus setting a precedent that ultimately can be followed throughout the city as capable Negro educators move up the ranks or become available from other localities.

V. THE PLAN: SPECIFIC STRATEGIES

Grade Reorganization

The Buffalo School System is now in the process of converting from an elementary (K-8) and high school (9-12) grade organization to an elementary (K-6), junior high (7-9), and high school (10-12) grade organization. We recommend that further conversion be halted and redirected toward the organization outlined in this paper -- Early Childhood Centers (pre-K-4), Middle Schools (5-8), and comprehensive high schools.*

Elementary Schools (Early Childhood Centers)

1. Conversion of the present elementary schools to pre K-4 organizations will make possible reduction of class size. Educators disagree on optimal size (both what is too large and too small). Some deny altogether that it makes sense to speak of an "optimal" size for all situations and types of classes. However, in disadvantaged areas the "optimal" class size would be smaller than in a more favored area, and probably should not exceed twenty.

2. The stability of the student population should be maximized by a new administrative ruling that will encourage families changing residence within any grouping of schools (most of which are within walking distance of one another) to continue their child at the school he is attending. Children who move outside comfortable walking distance will be provided with a taxi service (limousine, station wagon, bus) akin to those operating

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*It is our understanding that one or two vocational schools, having been designed to house heavy machinery, are not suitable for conversion to comprehensive high schools. We are also aware that many persons associated with vocational education are against the changeover to comprehensive high schools.

at private schools. (These could be set up with the assistance of voluntary service organizations.)

3. Pre-kindergarten programs for three and four-year olds should be set up in all schools.

4. To insure that children will read at least at their proper grade level by the time they are moved on to middle schools, considerations should be given to various one-tutor-to-one-pupil tutorial programs successfully used elsewhere (such as the employment of high school students in the Homework Helper Program sponsored by Mobilization for Youth where there was a 50 percent gain in individual reading level at the end of each year) or afterschool teacher-tutorial programs. The possibility must be considered of not advancing to the 5th grade for at least one year children whose reading is more than one year behind grade level.

5. A special effort should be made to provide cross-school contact for children in neighborhood schools where the racial composition, as in most suburbs, affords little opportunity for interracial contact. It is recommended especially that the possibility of sustained cross-school contacts between Negro and white parochial schools in the same neighborhoods through cooperative programs in such subjects as art or music be thoroughly explored.

6. It is recommended that the colleges and universities in the Buffalo area (particularly faculties of the teacher training schools) be given a major continuing responsibility for advising and assisting in a crash program for upgrading levels of achievement in the impoverished areas of the city.

7. Measures designed to stabilize the teaching staff of schools in disadvantaged areas should be taken. An initial step would be the

assignment of more tenured teachers to these schools but along with such assignments must go administrative inducements that encourage teachers to remain. (These inducements need not be solely financial. For example, one suggestion is to allow young children of teachers to attend Head Start classes in the school where the mothers teach.)

8. Present programs for training teachers to work with disadvantaged children, such as in-service training and the National Teachers' Corps, must be utilized to the maximum. Additional means of improving and extending training must be investigated.

9. Teacher aide programs, so far as we could ascertain, have been developed at the expense of other existing community aide programs where individuals in a school community were paid for assisting with the care of children in the school. Because these aide programs bring money into the impoverished community and help link together the school and community, they should be restored and new means of support found for them, including fund drives for voluntary contributions.

10. Additional school time should be made available for children in low income areas both by increasing the number of after-school programs and extending the school program to run year-round.

11. Special provisions should be made to identify talent at the K-4 level. This search for talent should not be confined to reading and academic skills but should include every creative activity. A special person(s) within the Bureau of Pupil Personnel should be assigned to keep track of the children identified as they move on to middle schools, and to see that their talents are recognized and developed.

12. It is recommended that each grouping of schools (see point 2) have a supervisory principal (or administrator) who would be responsible for the

exchange of information and cooperation at all levels among the various target schools. This person would work closely with the principals on matters related to the assessment of teaching, school administration, and curriculum as these affect particularly disadvantaged children. He would also serve as liaison between the circle of schools and the educational institution (see no. 6 above) given responsibility for the circle of schools.

Middle Schools

1. Fifth and sixth grade children who are reading more than one year below grade level, but who have, nevertheless, been passed on to the middle schools should receive special tutoring to improve these basic skills. The establishment of such programs commands the highest priority.

2. At the middle school level, provisions should be made for suburban inner-city pupil visits or exchanges.

3. Continuing programs possibly sponsored by various industries, businesses, professional associations within Buffalo, should be provided to acquaint children at this level through forums, films, exhibits, etc., with a broad spectrum of possible occupational careers. Special effort must be directed at the disadvantaged to acquaint them with the prerequisites for vocations and professions they may have never heard about.

4. While these programs can be held within the individual middle school, it is highly recommended that one or two centrally located schools be withdrawn from regular classroom use to serve as Exploration School(s) in which children from different parts of the city can be brought together, perhaps once a week or more, to participate in such

programs. A suggestion has been made that such a facility be built within the Ellicott Relocation District, if this is feasible. The purpose would be to bring students into the core area who would never venture there on their own.

5. A special committee, with a large representation of teachers and guidance counselors now working in junior high schools, should be set up to work out guidelines for the development of such a program and for the continuing evaluation of its utility. This development of a new kind of curriculum seems especially important to the success of the program and the urgency of setting up such a committee must be underlined.

6. While team teaching at an early grade level has been finding favor among large segments of the education world and among middle class parents, there is some reason to believe (on the basis of our survey) that disadvantaged youngsters need the security, even beyond sixth grade, of being in the care of a single teacher. Thought needs to be given to how best to assure that children from disadvantaged homes will, through their classroom and extra-classroom work, have a continuing relationship with one particular teacher who aids them through the middle school.

High Schools

No specific recommendations are included here but the general procedures are implicit in the general plan for high school reorganization spelled out in the preceding section (IV). In general, the plan would be to move toward a comprehensive high school system with each high school having a special area of study built around a cluster of career interests. For instance, Bennett High School might be turned into a comprehensive high school with a special field of study for persons interested in the medical and nursing professions and occupations and so attract a wide range of children -- with vocational and academic interests -- from all over the city.

Phasing

It is suggested that the compensatory education program for disadvantaged youngsters at the elementary school level be instituted immediately, beginning with a quadrant (circle) of segregated Negro schools in the central sections of Buffalo. The next section gives an illustration of how the reorganization might be carried out and what this would mean for improvement in racial balance, both in a transitional and a consolidation phase.

VI. AN ILLUSTRATION OF 4-4-4 REORGANIZATION: TRANSITIONAL AND CONSOLIDATED PHASES

As has been noted in other parts of this report, racial balance is not the only objective of a program to achieve quality-desegregated education. It is one means for attempting to equalize access to whatever the school system has to offer. Our approach has left the K-4 grades as neighborhood schools, reflecting the patterns of residential segregation prevailing. On the other hand, by recommending creation of comprehensive high schools with open enrollment based on special interests, we establish a basis for immediately desegregating all high schools. Hence, our major concern with racial balance rests with the middle school pupil population. It is with this group that the following analysis deals.

In this report, the degree of segregation in the schools has been defined in relation to the percent of non-whites in the Buffalo population, that is segregated schools are those having less than eight percent Negroes and more than 32%. Given its present racial composition, there is no way to achieve total desegregation of the Buffalo public school system according to this formula. The school age population has a higher proportion of non-whites (19%) than the general population (16%) and the public school population designated for the middle schools, (i.e., those going to grades 5-8, ages 10-13) has an even higher non-white ratio (36%). This is due largely to the fact that a large portion of this age group is in parochial (or other private) schools, with the majority of these being white pupils.

Thus, the following discussion of racial balance is based on a formula that aims at achieving in each school the closest possible approximation to the city-wide pupil distribution, within the grades 5-8, of the population slated for the middle schools. Perfect balance, in these terms, would amount to 36% non-whites and 64% whites. As will be shown in the area-by-area study which follows, the balance obtained ranges between 26% non-white; 74% white; and 42% non-white; 58% white*.

Consolidated Districts

Instead of presenting a plan directly applicable to the entire city, we divided the city into five major areas, each of which is suited to being served by an educational park, in which the facilities of middle schools could be combined with those of a high school. These areas shall from here on be referred to as Consolidated School Districts 1 through 5.

The districts are shown on the accompanying map. District 1 encompasses the Westside; District 2 Southside; District 3 the West; Districts 4 and 5 the Northeast and Northwest respectively. Districts 1 and 2 are each subdivided.

For each consolidated district, we note the distribution, by color, of the present student population in grades 5-8 in schools that can be considered as segregated in that its proportion of either whites or non-whites exceeds 80%. Parenthetically, it might be noted that in 17 of the 21 segregated non-white schools, the proportion of whites was under 5%;

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*Area 2-B, in the first or transitional phase, would be the only exception, remaining at 3% non-white. This is a function of its (South Buffalo) relative isolation from the rest of Buffalo.

the proportion of non-whites was likewise under 5% in 33 of the 48 segregated white schools. The reorganization seeks to improve racial balance by a redistribution of pupils among schools within a single district. The effects of such a redistribution are assessed and, where relevant, the effects of parallel activity in desegregating public housing projects in the same districts in promoting better racial balance in the schools are likewise noted.

The borders between these districts were drawn to include within each consolidated school district a 5th to 8th grade public school population approximating as near as possible the City average of 36% non-white. There is nothing absolutely final about these districts. Their boundaries might have to be adjusted to take account of unanticipated shifts in the population. To illustrate the concept underlying this proposal, we present detailed plans for several of the districts, demonstrating how the conversion from the 6-3-3 or 8-4 system to 4-4-4 system could be achieved. Its effects during a transition period, relying for the most part on existing plant, are detailed. Consolidation of the gains achieved during the transition period would depend on the establishment of educational parks as the more permanent solution. The resources already allocated and available for moving toward the long-term consolidation period, during which education parks would come into being, are indicated insofar as this is feasible.

District I - Westside

The total number of K-8 pupils in District 1 is 13,733, of which 5,325 are in grades 5-8. Of these, 41.2% are Negro and Puerto Rican. At present, the majority of schools in District 1 are segregated white or non-white.

81% of non-whites are now located in schools with 80% or more non-whites (1,773 of 2,196). 78% of the whites are now located in schools with 80% or more whites (2,449 of 3,129).

All pupils are to be located in school plants with approximately 41% non-white and 59% white pupil population.

Transition Phase

By introducing 5-8 middle schools into the area, students beyond 4th grade could attend schools with student populations ranging from about 34% to 50% non-white.

We recommend a complex of 3 middle schools for Sub-District 1a; School 76 is to be transformed into a middle school; Hutchinson Technical High School with improvement could be transformed into a 5-8 school; and proposed School 94 could easily, with only some enlargement, be constructed as a middle school. These three schools would be attended by 3,082 5-8 students.

	5-8 Spaces Available	5-8 Spaces Needed
School 76	850	
Hutchinson T.H.S.	1,100	
School 94	1,600	
	3,550	3,082

The following distribution of the present school population could be achieved in the following manner:

Receiving School	5-8 Spaces Available	Sending School	#5-8 Students
School 76	850	12	107
		36	122
		76	425
			654
Hutchinson	1,100	1	259
		3	260
		47	134
		49	29
		73	137
			819
School 94	1,600	18	143
		37	712
		38	270
		77	484
			1,609

The student population of these three schools would range from approximately 40% to 49% non-white.

If a 20-pupil per classroom maximum were to be achieved for K-4 schools, this would displace 389 pupils from the elementary schools converted to middle schools and from other overcrowded elementary schools. At the same time, the transfer of 5th and 6th grade pupils will make available an additional 1,351 spaces for K-4 pupils in Sub-District 1a. With Hutchinson converted into a middle school, 1,120 high school spaces would be required for those displaced from such a conversion.

In Sub-Area 1b, Woodlawn JHS and School #8 nearby could be converted into middle schools. This conversion would make available 2,525 grade 5-8 spaces, of which 2,243 spaces will be needed. The resulting student body of these newly formed middle schools will be approximately 34% non-white and 66% white. Due to the transformation of Woodlawn into a 5-8 school, 459 places for the 9th grade will be needed within an existing, an expanded, or a new high school.

Consolidated Phase

A new high school will have to be constructed both to ease present overcrowding in the high schools and to take care of the 9th grade students displaced from Woodlawn JHS (459) and the 9th through 12th grades displaced from Hutchinson (1,120). It is recommended that a new high school be located near one of the two middle school complexes proposed for District 1 in the transition phase, so that an educational park with both a middle and high school plant can be created.

The Capital Improvement Program has requested $14.2 million for this area which could be reallocated to the facilities suggested for such an education park. The facilities programmed are as follows:

Addition to and replacement of School 45.
Addition to Grover Cleveland High School.
Re-entry Program School.
A new School #94.
Replacement of School #52.
Addition to School #73.
A new junior high school (Niagara JHS).

District 2 - Southside

65% of non-white pupils are located in schools with 80% or more non-whites (561 of 865); 93% of white pupils are located in schools with 80% or more whites (2,584 of 2,770). All pupils in Sub-District 2a are to be located in schools with approximately 41% non-white, 59% white pupil population.

In District 2, as a whole, all pupils will be located in schools with approximately 24% non-white, 76% white pupil population.

Assuming adjustments made in public housing tenancy to desegregate these public facilities, the above figures related to District 2a would become 36% non-white, 64% white. Related to the district as a whole, the figures would become 29% non-white, 71% white*.

Transition Phase

1. Redistribution of 5-8 grade group:

Total 5-8 displacement	1,764
Total spaces available for this pupil population:	
Clinton Junior High School	565 places
Elementary School #6	1,311 places
TOTAL	1,876 places
Net 5-8 spaces in excess of need	112

2. Redistribution of 9th grade displaced from Clinton Junior High School: 400**. These 400 pupils to be relocated within new Southside Junior High School.

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*The public housing adjustment was made as follows:

1. Present tenancy was adjusted to reflect more adequately the total tenancy in public housing: approximately 40% non-white households, the exchange of families occuring between project populations.

2. The number of children in grades 5-8 in this exchanged population was estimated as follows: number of families was multiplied by average family size (3.4). This total population was then multiplied by the percent total population in the 11-14 age group (12%), the number derived assumed to roughly equal those in grades 5-8.

**9th grade displaced from Clinton Junior High School equals approximately one-third of total enrollment, or 400 spaces. Note, also, that school capacity figures are based on the standard of 100% capacity equalling 25 pupils/classroom from grade 5 and above.

3. Redistribution of K-4 displaced from School #6: 781 pupils.

To School #4 :	capacity... 760;	has... 355;	can add... 405
To School #33:	capacity... 480;	has... 332;	can add... 148
To School #25:	capacity... 100;	has... 85;	can add... 15
To School #75:	capacity... 620;	has... 570;	can add... 50
To School #40:	capacity... 420;	has... 193;	can add... 227
Net addition of K-4 spaces equals 64.		TOTAL	845

Consolidation Phase

Under the Capital Improvement Program, over $14 million has been programmed for plant improvement and renewal. This will include:

Completion of the Southside Junior High School.
Replacement of School #40 and #25.
Replacement of Boy's Adjustment School.
Replacement of School #34.
Building of a new junior high school and a new vocational high school.
Building of a new School #67.

It is recommended that those programs and plans not already in the construction phase be reviewed and reconsidered for reallocation for building a centrally located middle-high school education park complex. Special consideration should be given to inclusion of such a project within the Throughway Industrial Park Urban Renewal Project programmed for this area, as this would have the double advantage of being eligible for renewal subsidies for land write-down as well as being the city's share of project cost. It would also be located along a major throughway, making the facility equally accessible to persons in the entire district.

District 3 - Eastside

85% of non-white pupils are located in schools with 80% or more non-whites (849 of 1,002).

86% of white pupils are located in schools with 80% or more non-whites (1,228 of 1,420). All pupils are to be located in schools with approximately 41% non-white, 59% white pupil population.

Although not essential for improving the school population racial balance, it should be noted that desegregation of the Ferry Grider Public Housing Project would result in the addition of only 30 additional non-white pupils in the 5-8 grade level, raising the percent of non-whites in the district's schools only by 1% -- from 41% to 42% (increasing the percent non-white in the Project from its current 5% level to 40%).

Because of the shortage of space in large schools and the degree of overcrowding, as well as the extent of low quality physical plant, no effort was made to develop a transitional phase. Any serious program requires the addition of much new plant space for both the middle and high school grades.

It is recommended that both be supplied within one educational park, as part of a general plan for building a circle of such educational parks around the periphery of the ghetto area, thereby contributing to the improvement of this most overused and underserved section of the city.

Some $13 million has already been programmed for school plant improvement and development in this Area, most of which could be reallocated to the development of just such an educational park. It also might be planned as part of the Throughway Industrial Park Urban Renewal Project. Projects programmed in the Capital Improvement Program include the following facilities:

Addition to Emerson Vocational High School.
Addition to, and replacement of, #39.
A new high school.
A new junior high school.

District 4 - Northeast

32% of non-white pupils are located in schools with 80% or more non-whites (176 of 558); 85% of white pupils located in schools with 80% or more whites (2,085 of 2,463).

All pupils are to be located in schools with approximately 18% non-white, 82% white pupil population.

With public housing desegregation, exchange with Sub-District 2a projects could add 233 non-white pupils in grades 5-8 and bring the above figures to 26% and 74% respectively, approximating the city-wide average more closely.

Detailed Reorganization Plan

District 4 is similar to District 3 in that it lacks the space in large schools necessary to create a system of middle schools which would also contribute to desegregation. A possible alternative, as a transitional move, would be to develop a 5-3-4 plan until more space becomes available for the middle school population projected in the 4-4-4 plan. Schools #21, #71 and #80 are all large schools which could serve as temporary facilities for the modified middle school (grades 6-8). The K-5 grades that would be thus displaced could be transferred to Elementary School #82, #63 and #68 to occupy the space vacated by the transfer of the upper grades to the newly formed middle schools.

For the consolidation phase, we recommend, once again, an educational park with all facilities necessary to serve a middle and high school population.

The capital budget has programmed approximately $11 million for improvements and development in the area which could be reallocated to this use. Included in the budget are the following items, all of which could become part of an educational park facility:

Addition to Kensington High School.
A new North Main Junior High School.
A new North Kensington Junior High School.

District 5 - Northwest

85% of the non-white pupils are located in schools with 80% or more non-whites (1,021 of 1,205); 91% of the white pupils are located in schools with 805 or more whites (2,377 of 2,619).

All pupils are to be located in school plant with approximately 42% non-white, 58% white pupil population.

If public housing were fully desegregated, the proportion of non-whites would rise to 43%. While this does not greatly worsen the racial distribution at the middle school level, it might significantly improve racial balance at the K-4 level since the schools in the vicinity of the public housing projects have, at present, an overwhelmingly white pupil population.

Detailed Reorganization Plan

Because of the gross deficiency in available space for middle schools, the larger, more underutilized schools, specifically Schools #42, #60, #79 and #81, would absorb about half of the 5-8 pupil population during the transition period, with School #42 taking approximately 750 and the others 500 each.

An entirely new reorganization of space within larger complexes is needed to improve racial balance. A building program on this large scale could provide economies with the monies saved to be invested in the building of a top-quality plant.

The $17 million programmed for school plant improvement and development in the capital budget could be reallocated to this purpose as suggested in the discussion of the other district development plans. Projects presently programmed could all become part of such an educational park. These projects include the following:

Riverside Junior High School.
Rebuilding of the McKinley Vocational High School.
A new Westside Junior High School.
A new Business and Commerce Vocational High School.

City-Wide Total

75% of non-whites are located in schools with 80% or more non-whites (4,380 of 5,826); 86% of whites are located in schools with 80% or more whites (10,723 of 12,401).

Reorganization

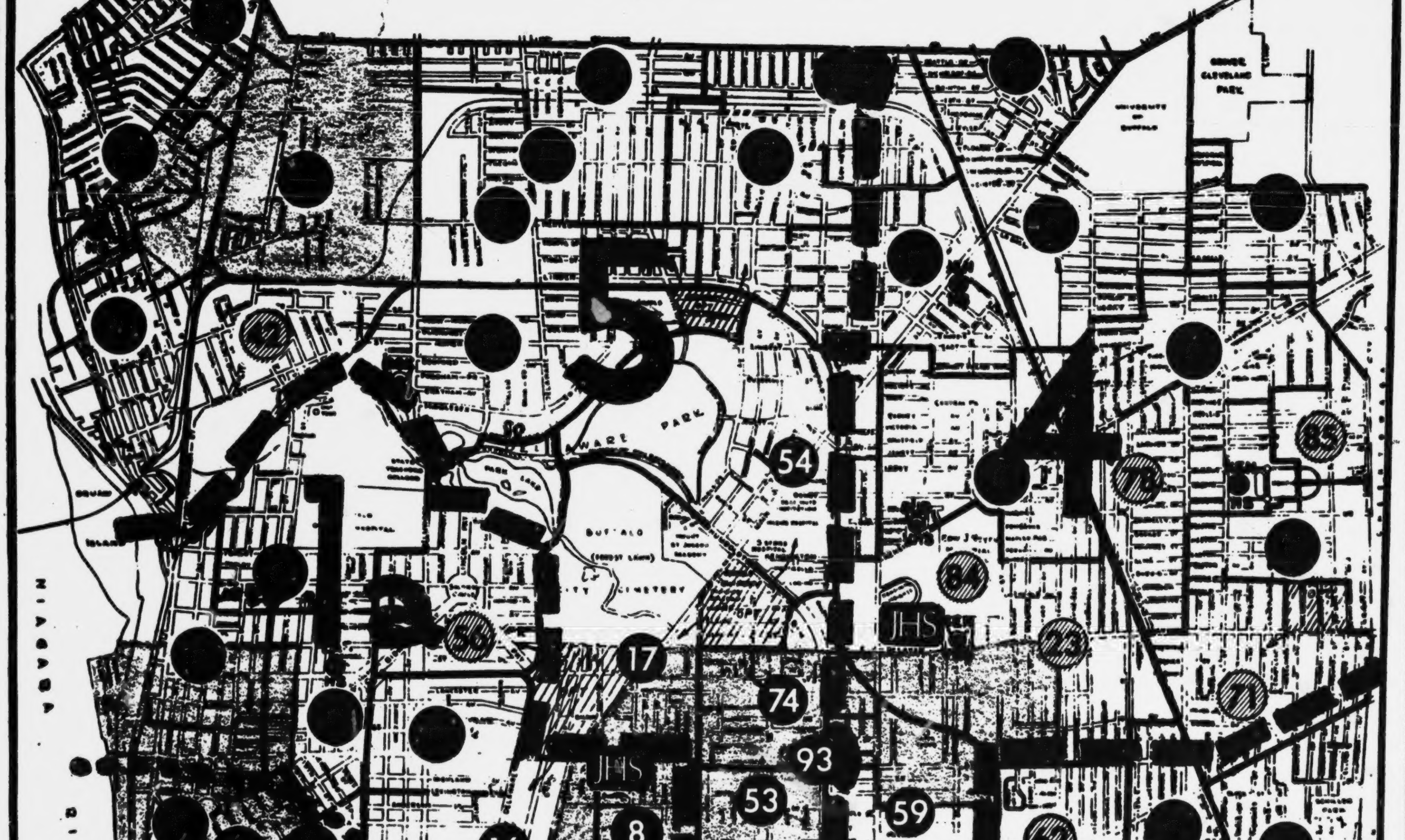
All pupils are to be relocated in schools with between 26% and 42% non-white and between 74% and 58% white pupil population.

Desegregation of public housing throughout the city can expedite the desegregation of middle schools and of certain K-4 schools.

The transitional period will involve temporary use of the larger and underutilized elementary schools, whose plant is in good condition, and an expansion of the present junior high school plant.

The consolidation phase will necessitate reallocation of $69.2 million presently requested under the Board of Education Capital Improvement Budget to the creation of five (5) educational parks located around the periphery of the most neglected and oldest section of the city (known by some as "the ghetto" or "maximum poverty area"). This construction of educational parks would have other side effects. It would bring new resources to an area which could conceivably provide a base from which other improvement and community building programs could more readily develop.

SCHOOL ANALYSIS AREAS


5
4
1a
1b
3
2
NIAGARA RIVER
LAKE
PARK
BUFFALO
CEMETERY
JHS
JHS
JHS
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84
23
71
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74
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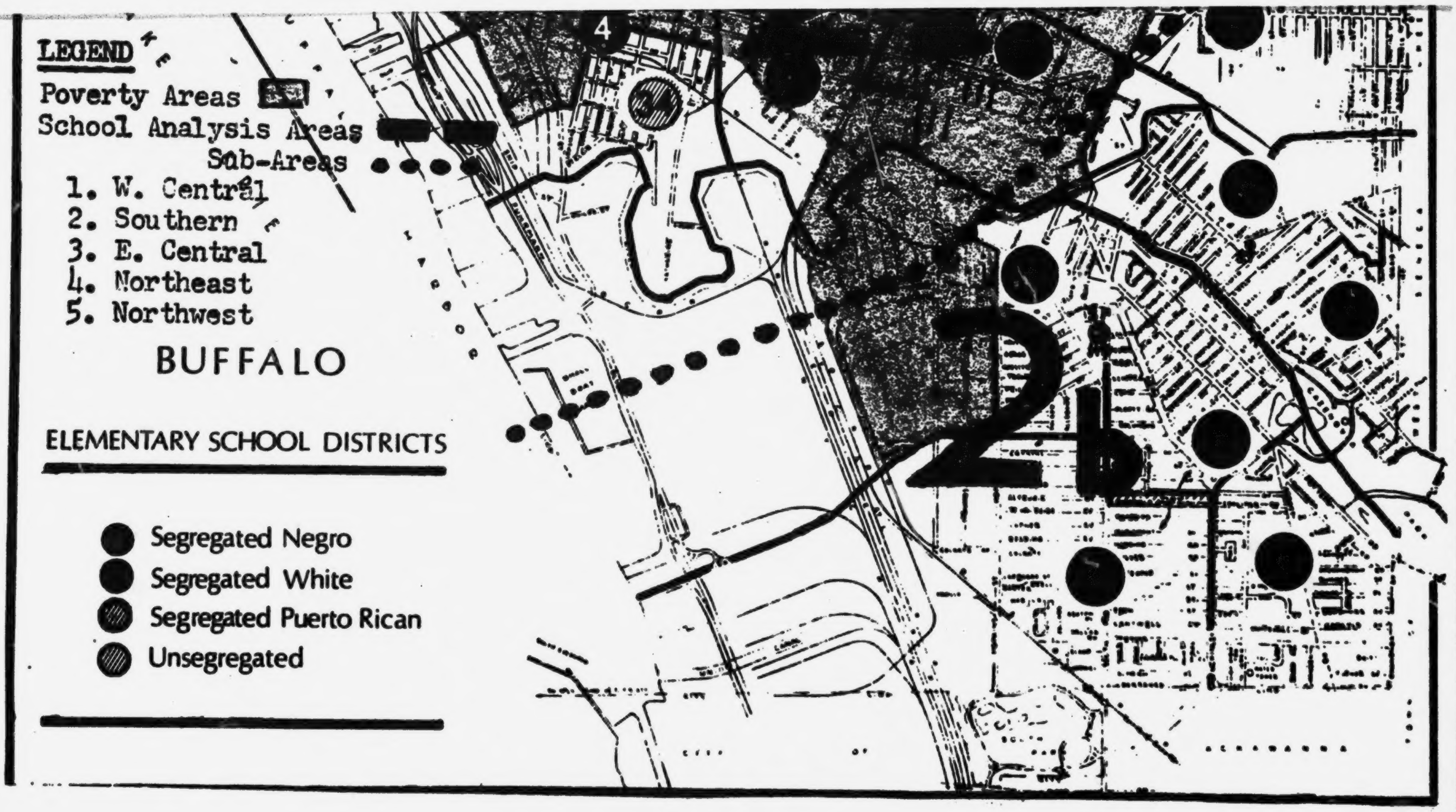
LEGEND
Poverty Areas
School Analysis Areas
Sub-Areas
1. W. Central
2. Southern
3. E. Central
4. Northeast
5. Northwest
BUFFALO
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL DISTRICTS
Segregated Negro
Segregated White
Segregated Puerto Rican
Unsegregated
4
2b

VII. FEASIBILITY AND COSTS

The calculations shown in Table 1 at the end of this section use the number of classrooms by school type as the measure.* It should be noted that this aggregate calculation will not necessarily be equal to results based on a school-by-school analysis. That is to say, operationally, a perfect fit between pupils and space is hardly ever achieved.

The data are based, to arrive at a workable estimate, on the following assumptions:

1. All elementary schools are to be used as K-4 schools at 20 pupils per classroom;
2. Any excess in elementary school space is to be converted to middle school use;
3. All junior high schools are to be used as middle schools;
4. All vocational and academic high schools are to be used as comprehensive high schools;
5. All space budgeted for construction under the Priority One Capital Improvement Program has been included in the calculations (which amounts to $12,450,000 school plant investment).

Results:

1. K-4 space: sufficient for all 1966 K-4 enrollment, with excess space assumed for use as middle school space.

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*These statistics are illustrative, not complete, and subject to necessary revisions (not entirely fulfilling the assumptions) in carrying out the plan, such as those detailed in Section VI.

2. Middle school space: deficient by 73 classrooms at $30,000 per classroom, amounts to investment of $2,190,000.

3. High school space: deficiency of 254 classrooms at $35,000 per classroom, amounts to investment of $6,350,000.

Total Investment: $8,540,000.

These figures do not include the retirement from the total school plant inventory of any additional obsolete structures (except for that noted in the current Capital Improvement Program), nor site costs for school plant in addition to that programmed in the Capital Improvement Program.

It should also be noted that this figure is considerably less than 1/5 that projected in Priority Two and Three programs noted in the Board of Education's Capital Improvement Program.

Scheduled over a six year period, this would amount to less than $1.5 million annually, part of which could be paid for out of renewal matching funds, in addition to Federal funds available for school building programs in poverty areas, as well as possible expansion of State matching funds.

Although these figures do not include operating or site acquisition costs, it would seem to be a minor cost to pay for contributing to the restructuring of the City's education plant.

TABLE 1: School Pupil and Classroom Data on Converting a 6-3-3 System to a 4-4-4 System(1)

Alternative School Type 6-3-3 System Schools (4-4-4 System Schools)	Enrollment Data			Classroom Data				
					reallocation and need under 4-4-4			
	enrolled under 6-3-3	transfers to convert to 4-4-4 (2)	enrollment under 4-4-4	number under 6-3-3	transfer to convert to 4-4-4 (3)	needed classrooms (4)	deficiency	cost to meet deficiency (5)
Elementary:K-6 & 8 (Early Childhood Center: pre K-4)	45,547	-16,821	28,726	1,984	-548	1,436	0	0
Junior High School:7-9 (Middle School:5-8)	4,552	+16,821 - 1,515	19,858	173	+548	794	-73	$2,190,000
Voc. & Acad. High:9-12 (Comp. High:9-12)	18,226	+ 1,515	19,741	536	---	790	-254	$6,350,000
TOTALS	68,325	0	68,325	2,693	0	3,020	-327	$8,540,000

(1) all figures are preliminary
(2) displacing grades 5-8 from present elementary schools for relocation to future middle schools; transferring grade 9 from present junior high schools to future comprehensive high schools
(3) excess space in reduced use of elementary school facilities to be reallocated to use as middle school plant; also includes new space programmed under Priority One programs of the Capital Improvement Program
(4) need based on excess beyond capacity based on following standards: 20 pupils per classroom for K-4 schools; 25 per classroom for middle and comprehensive high schools
(5) based on per classroom cost of $30,000 for middle schools and $35,000 for comprehensive high school plant.

VIII. THE RELATION OF THE PROGRAM TO A COMMUNITY BUILDING PROGRAM

In the reorganization of school plant and other activities associated with a plan for quality integration in the lower income areas there are opportunities to combine such efforts with associated community building activities. Parents and children can be involved in efforts to add and improve existing community facilities such as health and community centers, recreation facilities, libraries, as well as decentralized offices of city-wide agencies concerned with community improvement and development.

A hierarchy of increasingly higher quality and more specialized facilities might be developed around the school as its core. Thus, for each level of school, from the pre-K-4, middle to high school, associated community facilities could be planned. These would form community or civic centers rising from the most local level to the most regional level (the "superblock" serving up to 1,000; the neighborhood serving from 5 to 10,000; the community serving 25,000 to 50,000; the district, serving from 100,000 to 250,000; the region serving from 500,000 to 1,000,000).

Each level would include an increasingly higher quality, more specialized grouping of community facilities including health, recreation, cultural, community maintenance and improvement offices and staff, bringing such facilities and services and staff closer to those they are intended to serve and by whom they might more adequately be influenced and controlled. Planning such local "civic centers" or "plazas" as a unit with the education plant as the core could become a major contribution and focal point for general community upgrading throughout Buffalo with special priority going to those areas found to be most deficient in such amenities -- the areas of greatest poverty.

Combined with housing programs directed at meeting housing needs at rents households can afford, such efforts might go far toward stabilizing communities presently undergoing or about to undergo changes in population. Both public and private agencies can exert considerable influence on the distribution of resources through their control over public investment and, consequently, the rate and location of population displacement and relocation.

To accomplish such integration of community facilities, close cooperation among concerned agencies would be essential, involving: (a) an appropriate organizational form both for developing a common set of objectives and plans for expressing those objectives and (b) means for coordinating implementation, especially in the area of project funding. New federal and state programs encouraging such coordination of effort could and would have to be utilized. These would include such programs as the Demonstration Cities Program; new federal aid for housing code enforcement; education funds for areas with high concentration of low income families; community, health and cultural centers for similar areas, etc. The key to successful implementation of such efforts is the integration of the Community Renewal Program with the Community Action Program. The short-range relationship between these two programmatic efforts would be expressed through the Capital Improvement Program, which could serve as an integrating mechanism.

This assumes that all such efforts are aimed at the same overall set of priorities: concentration of public resources in those areas with greatest need, preparing them to deal more effectively with the present concommitants of poverty. This would demand a considerable shift from present goals, e.g., in the area of urban renewal, in attracting back to Buffalo the wealth which has chosen the alternative of suburban living. Such a shift would be based on a fundamental assumption: achieving a greater balance between rich and poor means concentrating on the existing and projected poorer population, "graduating" people out of their present poverty status through massive compensatory aid aimed at (a) increasing the equal opportunity to compete for existing national and regional wealth, and (b) expanding opportunities available to those who have obtained the necessary levels of preparation to take advantage of available opportunities that exist.

Recommendation. -- All such programs depend on the City's ability to raise necessary funds. Since the funding of such programs has changed so drastically in recent years, it would appear essential that the City of Buffalo assign the task of evaluating the City's present and projected financial status, as well as assessing the availability of newly developing State, Federal and non-publicly funded programs, to a top level task force, including fiscal and public administration experts as well as program development personnel from the various operating areas. This task force would be charged with making recommendations for maximizing available resources in the task of overcoming poverty and achieving equality of opportunity.

Given the extent of need, such an addition of resources (primarily Federal) creatively applied could go far in making Buffalo one of the first cities to reduce its poverty and to achieve equal and expanding opportunities for all of its citizens.